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SPEECH
OF
national union
HON. N. P. BANKS,
OF MASSACHUSETTS,

UPON THE
REPRESENTATION OF THE UNITED STATES

AT THE
EXHIBITION OF THE WORLD'S INDUSTRY,
PARIS, 1867;

15
Delivered in the House of Representatives, March 14, 1866.

In the wise economy of nations, ideas are better than blows, brains better than blood.

WASHINGTON, D. C.
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PARIS EXHIBITION.

MR. STEVENS moved that the rules be suspended, and that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union.

The motion was agreed to, and the House accordingly resolved itself into the Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union, (Mr. WILSON, of Iowa, in the chair), and proceeded to the consideration of House Joint Resolution, No. 52, to provide for the expenses attending the exhibition of the products of the industry of the United States at the Exposition in Paris in 1867.

MR. WASHBURNE, of Illinois. I move to lay that aside and take up an appropriation bill.

MR. BANKS. I hope not. It is necessary this question should be settled.

The motion was disagreed to.

MR. BANKS moved that, by unanimous consent, the first reading of the joint resolution for information be dispensed with.

MR. WASHBURNE, of Illinois, objected.

The joint resolution was then read a first time for information.

MR. BANKS. I move to amend the first section by inserting the following words, omitted by accident :

After line seven, section one, insert :

First, to provide the necessary furniture and fixtures for the proper exhibition of the articles and products of the industry of the United States, according to the plan of the imperial commissioners, in that part of the building exclusively assigned to the use of the United States, \$48,000.

MR. CHAIRMAN, I suppose this amendment opens the whole subject for discussion.

The CHAIRMAN. General debate has not been closed.

MR. BANKS. Mr. Chairman, the amendment I have offered embraces the material part of the sum appropriated in the first resolution. It was this consideration that controlled the judgment of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, to which the subject was referred, in recommending the House to make an appropriation for this purpose.

It is proper to say, Mr. Chairman, that the Government of the United States has never made an appropriation of this character. Until the Exhibition of 1867 was proposed, no Government had taken the initiative and assumed the responsibility of expenses incurred in exhibitions of this description. Industrial exhibitions in all ages have been enterprises of the people rather than of Governments. Whenever the people have had wrongs to redress or rights to assert, their strongest appeals to public sympathy, except by violence, have been found in the exhibition of the fruits of their industry. Thus it has been in Poland, Hungary, France, England and America. Whenever the people sought to influence the Government or stamp their ideas upon the public mind, they have, in exhibiting the fruits of their industry, given evidence of their claims to favor. This was true of our own Revolution as of other States. It was not until 1851 that industrial exhibitions engaged the general attention of nations. But it was not even then public enterprise. The Exhibition of 1851 was inaugurated only upon guarantees of individual citizens that the Government should not be held responsible for losses that might be incurred upon its failure. The national subscription to which the Queen contributed was the foundation of that first representation of the world's industry. The Exhibitions at Paris in 1855, at London in 1862, and at Hamburg in 1863, proceeded on the same idea, that the enterprise was one of individual character, in which Governments participated, but for which they were not legally responsible, and which they did not assume to control. But at length, as with education, railways, and other popular organizations for the improvement of the condition of the people, industrial expositions enjoy for the first time the reluctant but essential patronage and favor of Governments.

Under the great ruler who now directs the destinies of France, a Government has been made, for the first time in history, responsible for the collection, classification, exhibition and scientific description of the world's industry, at which all nations are invited to present evidences of their prosperity, progress, and power in industrial pursuits. That Government has appropriated twenty millions francs for its expenses. It pays twelve millions from the treasury of the empire, and trusts that the balance of eight millions may be obtained from admission fees, and other forms of popular contribution.

Belgium has appropriated six hundred thousand francs, or one hundred and twenty thousand dollars for the same purpose. Every nation on the European continent will make liberal appropriations. Individuals, societies, corporations, cities and departments of France will also be called upon for voluntary contributions. It is an enterprise in which Governments and not individuals are to act, and if the United States desires to be repre-

sented in this exhibition of the world's wealth, it must be through their Government, and not, as heretofore, by private citizens. It is for that reason, among others, that the Committee on Foreign Affairs has recommended this appropriation to the House. Unless the Government takes the initiative and is represented as a Government, the people of the United States, interested in the representation of our progress in industry, will be without rights or privileges. It is important that we should consider the subject in view of this fact.

On the 15th of January last a resolution was approved by the President, which had passed both Houses of Congress, accepting the invitation of the Emperor of France to take part in the Exposition of 1867. And it now becomes our duty to say whether, by fit appropriations for this purpose, we will enable the people we represent to avail themselves of the advantages offered us in common with other nations. There can be no impropriety in suggesting that if we are to be represented at all we should be well represented, and that we should conform to the plan of the imperial commission. This plan has probably attracted the attention of gentlemen of the House, as it has been printed at length, with the executive documents. (No. 12) Each Government is to be represented through its industrial agents. A part of the palace constructed for the proper exhibition of the varied products of human industry is assigned to each nation. The structure covers thirty-six acres of the Champ de Mars. It is elliptical in form. Each of the ten groups into which the varied employments of the family of man are divided occupy one of the ten divisions running with the circular lines of the structure. Each nation is assigned a section of the ground plan, running from the outside to the center; so that a spectator, in moving around the building, inspects all the products of human industry in any one of the ten grand divisions in which it is classified. Moving from the outside to the center by transverse passages, he will see in the most complete arrangement the general products of each nation. The industry of the world is thus so classified and arranged that a connected view of the whole, or of each nation, is easily obtained. The United States ranks the eighth in the list of assignments of space. It has six times the room heretofore assigned to us in other exhibitions when it stood fourth in the rank of nations.

It is necessary that the portion assigned to us should be furnished for the proper exhibition of the fruits of our industry, according to the plan provided for other nations. The expenditures required for this purpose, upon the estimate of the American minister at Paris, for furniture and fixtures, will be \$48,000. It is to provide for this sum that the amendment is offered which I have sent to the Chair, and which was omitted in the printed form

by accident. I am authorized to say by the committee that it is their unanimous opinion that the acceptance of the invitation on the part of the Government makes it incumbent upon us to make this appropriation at least. I believe they were all united in that opinion. The committee hesitated long and considered carefully the subject in question in every point of view, before they consented to recommend the appropriation of \$100,000.

The part of the building assigned to us contains thirty thousand square feet. It gives us twenty thousand feet for passages and ten thousand feet net for exhibition. Every State in the Union has already made application for a portion of this space. The State of Illinois has applied for a very large share, and altogether the room already demanded will more than cover the space assigned to us. It is probable that a larger part of the building would have been appropriated to the United States had the representative of the Government at Paris or the executive officers here been authorized to accept the invitation, or specify what space would be required, or how much would be occupied. But no one at Paris or in Washington had authority to designate the space likely to be required or occupied, or to accept the invitation of the French Government. The opinion was expressed that the American people would desire to be represented and that the largest space allowed would be occupied. It is to furnish appropriate furniture and fixtures for this space that the appropriation of \$48,000 is proposed.

I will turn to the next section of the bill in order to explain other expenditures which are embraced in the appropriation recommended: For the compensation of four clerks in New York and four clerks in Paris, whose salaries shall be as follows: one at \$1,600, one at \$1,400, and two at \$1,200 each.

These clerks are provided for at New York in the resolution which passed Congress, and was approved by the President. This bill reduces the salaries specified in the joint resolution which was approved January 15, from \$1,600 to \$1,400, or \$200 of the pay of each clerk. So that it makes a reduction in the sum required to that extent. If we are to be represented at Paris, if we are to expend \$48,000 for fixtures and furniture, it of course is necessary that there should be some arrangement by which the articles presented for exhibition should be so classified as to avoid transportation of duplicate articles from the several States, or from different parts of the same State. It is therefore absolutely necessary that there should be officers to perform this duty. A general agent was appointed at New York by the Secretary of State, whose salary was not determined. This appointment has been approved by Congress, and the appropriation is made for his compensation and that of the clerks he was authorized to appoint.

The next provision is for the compensation of professional and scientific commissioners; ten in number, at the rate of \$1,000 each per annum, \$10,000.

It may seem to some unnecessary that there should be ten scientific commissioners appointed to attend this Exposition; but if it be necessary, assuredly the compensation of \$1,000 will not be deemed extravagant. I think I may say with some degree of confidence that if the committee will consider the character of the Exposition and the plan upon which it is organized they will come to the conclusion that a scientific commission for the purpose of examining and reporting upon the results of the industry of the world is absolutely essential to the full realization of its manifold advantages, and will far more than compensate for the expenditure proposed by this section.

The plan of the Exposition of 1867 is the grandest classification of the products of human industry that the mind of man has ever conceived. There has never been presented, in the history of the world, such a comprehensive, systematic, and scientific grouping of the various branches of human industry as this plan unfolds. All the pursuits and products of its people are grouped in ten leading divisions, and subdivided into ninety five classes. It is proposed by the American minister at Paris, acting as commissioner for the United States, that one scientific commissioner for each of these groups shall be appointed by the Government. The groups are as follows:

1. Works of art.
2. Materials and application of labor to art.
3. Furniture and other household articles.
4. Clothing, including cloths and wearing apparel.
5. Mining, and the rough and wrought products of mining.
6. Processes of mechanic arts.
7. Food, fresh and preserved, in its various states.
8. Leading agricultural products and specimens.
9. Natural horticultural products and specimens.
10. Objects especially exhibited for improving the physical and moral condition of the populations of the earth.

These ten groups embrace all the pursuits of man, all the products of industry; they represent the habits of life, and all the relations of men to each other, to society, and to progressive civilization. It is of vast importance that this Exhibition should be so far studied by our people that we may be able to comprehend the advantages to be derived from it, and fitly appropriate them for the instruction and benefit of the different sections of our country.

We have eminent scientific men in every State who are capable not only of illustrating our own relation to the industrial products of the earth, but of combining in concise, comprehensive

reports the results of their investigation, and imparting that information to our people.

In the eastern States we have Professor Agassiz, now in South America, whose investigations in natural science will electrify the world, and give to American science a nobler prestige than has been conferred upon any nation except by Humboldt. Professor Agassiz believes that the sons of the noble families of Europe will be sent to the universities of this country to complete their education, and that in the study of natural science we shall have advantages that are not enjoyed by any other nation or people on the face of the earth.

In the middle States there are thousands who understand what is necessary for the development of their industry and the promotion of the great public interests identified with and dependent on the success of American industry.

And the valley of the Mississippi—a valley that is comparatively unknown to us—that is capable of supporting five hundred or a thousand million people, which will yield to our industry every product of the eastern or western hemispheres, will be able to present men who comprehend the vast resources of that section of our country, who will represent its power, make known its improvements accomplished or anticipated, and report the progress of industry elsewhere.

In regard to the mineral and commercial regions on the Pacific coast, it is of the greatest importance that a representative of scientific and practical skill should be able to present to the people of the Old World an idea of the capacities and resources of that part of our country, and also make known to us in return what advantages may be derived from this Industrial Exhibition.

In this manner we shall be able to represent our material wealth. And more than that, it is in our power to represent the social and political character of the country in such a way as to attract the attention of other nations. The education and social customs of the people, their habits of industry, the food upon which they live, the clothing they wear, the dwellings they occupy, the society in which they move, everything pertaining to American civilization will be represented by us. We can show the log cabin where lived one of the earlier Presidents of the Union, and the humble roof beneath which dwelt the martyr President, whose name is known and beloved by the common people of all nations. We can show the habits of our people in their industrial pursuits, the advantages that they enjoy in respect to education and progress, the constant improvement and elevation of the working classes, and thus place before the world an enlarged view of the condition and the prospect of American civilization, that has not been, and cannot be presented in any other manner.

And I think the expenditure of \$100,000 to represent American civilization in this grand Exposition, the results of which will be reported through ten of the best informed, the most scientific and practical men of the country, will be money very profitably expended.

The next section relates to an additional structure which possibly may become necessary for our accommodation. I have said that thirty thousand square feet in gross have been assigned to us by the French Government, placing us eighth in the list of nations. Beyond all question that will be insufficient. Applications have been made already that will more than fill this entire space. The State of Illinois alone has made application for nearly all the space assigned to the United States. It may be necessary to provide an additional structure. In the Champ de Mars, embracing one hundred and fifty acres, we can have as much room as we please, and therefore it is proposed, if it shall be requisite, that the Government of the United States shall appropriate \$25,000 for an additional building, upon condition that an equal sum shall be contributed by individuals for the same purpose. It may be found necessary or it may not. I do not think the appropriation unreasonable. Belgium, it is reported to us by the American minister, has already provided for a similar addition to the space assigned her, and other nations will probably follow her example.

The next section contains an appropriation for contingent expenses in Paris and New York, to be expended as the commissioners may direct, \$5,000, for rent, advertising, and incidental expenses already incurred in pursuance of the action of the Secretary of State, confirmed by the two Houses of Congress, and approved by the President.

The next is a section to which I propose to offer an amendment when it shall be reached. It now provides that the Secretary of the Navy, at the request of the Secretary of State, shall be authorized to furnish one or more public vessels to transport the industrial products of this country, intended for exhibition, to and from France. The opinions of the Secretary of the Navy upon this subject, as indicated when the subject was up before, have led me, upon my own responsibility, to suggest a modification. I propose that the President of the United States shall be requested to furnish one or more public vessels for the transportation of the industrial products of this country to France, but not to return them; because it might be said, as the exhibition will continue for six months, that to keep the vessels there for that time, or to subject them to another voyage out to bring the goods to this country, would be perhaps an unreasonable addition to the expense. I therefore propose that we provide one or more public

vessels for the transportation of our products to the shores of France.

And I take occasion to say that the representations, made when the subject was before us some weeks since, have no substantial foundation. Gentlemen have said that the expense would be two or three hundred thousand dollars, and we have been told that the Navy Department is responsible for this statement. I say, Mr. Chairman, that no such expenditure will be required; that neither \$100,000 nor \$50,000 nor \$20,000 nor \$10,000 nor any other considerable expense will be incurred. The expenditure will be no more than that which pertains to the possession of the vessels which the Government now owns, and the employment of officers and men now in public service.

We ask in the first place nothing more than store-ships—sailing vessels—which are now at the disposal of the Navy Department, which are not engaged in any public service, and can be assigned to this duty without additional cost to the Government. The use of the vessels with the services of the officers and men now employed and paid by the Government will add nothing at all to the expenses of the Department; and I feel authorized to say on behalf of the committee that we will gratefully accept the meanest exhibition of the national flag which the Navy Department chooses to make for us in aid of this great national representation of our industry.

I am told by officers of the Navy Department that these store-ships, when they are not wanted for service, are not now even sold; that the prices which they bring are so insignificant that they are broken up for the sake of the material. It is only necessary therefore for the Navy Department to preserve one, two, three, or four of these vessels, as may be required, and this will give us all that we demand for transporting the varied products of our industry to the shores of France. Within the present month I believe not less than twenty steamers have been sold in the city of Baltimore at an average of less than \$6,000 each; half of them for less than \$4,000 each. Even if we should ask the use of steamers, which we do not, certainly the Government of the United States has the power to gratify the people of this country at a very slight cost and with very little trouble.

The reason for making this request upon the Navy Department is based upon a fact alike honorable to the service and the people of England and America. At the Exhibition of 1851 the Secretary of the Navy, without request of Congress, authority of law, or unjustifiable expense, gave to the manufacturers, the artisans, the agriculturalists of this country, the use of the war frigate *St. Lawrence*, to carry to England the products of their industry; and the arrival of the *St. Lawrence* at Southamp-

ton is announced in the English histories of the Exhibition of 1851 as one of the most notable and gratifying incidents of that grand industrial exposition. The officers and men of the frigate were honored with an ovation at Southampton, and wherever they appeared within the British realm they were recognized as the representatives of the flag of our country, the bearers of the contributions of American industry.

Now, sir, if that was the case in 1851, assuredly the flag of the United States will be more welcome to the People of Europe, if not to its Rulers, in the grander Exhibition of 1867. We ask in this case only that the Government shall lend us the flag of our country to cover the industrial representations of all classes of its people from every part of its territory.

There is in the resolution a provision which authorizes the commissioner at New York to charge the exhibitors one half of the current rate of freight to France, the proceeds of which were intended to be applied to the reduction of the general expenses of this exhibition on the part of our Government as provided for by the first resolution appropriating the sum of \$100,000. It was that provision which led me to say in reply to a question of the gentleman from Illinois, [Mr. WASHBURN,] when the subject first came before the House, that the expense would not in any event exceed \$100,000, and probably would not exceed \$50,000. But, upon reflection, I felt that it was not altogether an elevated proceeding for the Government of the United States, in the use of the vessels owned and paid for by the people, to charge half-price freight upon the articles to be exhibited in Paris next year for the purpose of illustrating the grandeur and progress of our country, especially for the benefit of the Government and the people. And therefore I propose on my own responsibility to strike out that section, which stands as the third section in the printed resolution, leaving it as it stands in the second section, modifying it, however, so far as to call upon the President, instead of the Secretary of the Navy, to furnish the vessels.

And I do this, sir, for another reason which did not occur to us in its full strength at the time the committee reported this resolution. The products which we send to Paris will be to a great extent sold in Europe. The American minister at Paris has expressed the opinion that nine-tenths of the articles we send out will be sold there. They ought all to be sold. I think, therefore, there will be no necessity for specially providing for their return. I do not think there is any great generosity in charging contributors half-freight for their transportation to France. For these reasons I shall submit the several amendments which I have indicated.

Mr. Chairman, will gentlemen of the committee allow me, and I do not know but I am trespassing too much on their attention—

Several MEMBERS. Go on; we want to hear you.

Mr. BANKS. Will gentlemen allow me to call attention to the results of previous unauthorized exhibitions of American industry in London, Paris, and Hamburg? Carefully as we study the history of this country, and especially its industry, we know very little of its present power, and nothing at all I apprehend of its future. It is by comparison only that we first learn what we are, or what we may and ought to be. We did not know in 1851, when we sent to London unknown men, not unknown merely in England, but unknown in America, that they were to instruct and electrify the people of all nations most interested in prominent industrial pursuits. When Mr. McCormick took out his reaper it was hardly recognized here as a successful implement of agriculture. It was regarded rather as evidence of speculative than practical mechanical genius. It was only when it challenged and received the admiration of the world that general attention in this country was called to its great merits and wonderful success. When George Steers sent out the yacht America it attracted little attention. The London journals announced, after a careful examination of its model, that it was of a novel and not very promising style of architecture, of which we had no great reason to be proud; but when it entered the contest against the sailing vessels of the whole world, and so far won in the sea race as to leave no flag second, then every American heart bounded with joy, and the light of brighter thought and new ideas broke upon the people of all nations.

There were other honorable examples of American skill. There went from New York city an unknown mechanic, Mr. A. C. Hobbs, a native, I believe, of Massachusetts. His purpose was to exhibit a commercial lock of American manufacture. The English locksmiths, Chubbs and Bramah, put their most ingenious and important pieces of mechanism against the world. Bramah had exposed his lock in one of the grand thoroughfares of London, with an offer of 200 guineas to any one who could open it, for more than twenty years, without a claimant for the golden prize. Mr. Hobbs opened the Chubbs lock in twenty-five minutes, and relocked it in seven. He did this with such facility that the London News said it rendered the challenge ridiculous. The London mechanics estimated that it would require the life-time of a Methuselah to open the Bramah lock, if it could be done at all, so numerous were its combinations, but Mr. Hobbs unlocked and relocked it, after a couple of days' study and experiment, without injury, as often as it was desired, to the astonishment of the English mechanics. But this was not his only triumph. He offered to allow any man to take his own lock to pieces and put it together again, and then challenged him to open it, and there was not a man in England that could do it.

But, sir, it is unnecessary to refer to the brilliant success of other American exhibitors, and yet every one must confess that, so far as the Government was represented in the Exhibition of 1851, it was a melancholy and discreditable feature. We were saved from humiliation if not disgrace by the unexpected and marvellous skill and power of our own unappreciated mechanics.

In 1862 the Exhibition was repeated in London on a grander scale. We were then engaged in a terrible war, and could not afford to expend money on any extraneous object. Ninety-five American citizens however went there at their own risk and cost, to exhibit the industry of the United States. Eighty-three of those ninety-five American exhibitors received prizes in the different branches of industry which they represented, and of twenty-five mechanical exhibitors every one was honored with a medal.

The London Times, in speaking of that Exhibition, said that after the mechanical section, the United States department was the point of general attraction for the people of all nations. There was no representation of the Government, no full representation of the industry, skill, genius, power, and wealth of our people; a few unauthorized citizens had gone there at their own expense, and they alone, according to the London Times, constituted the second point of attraction to the people of all nations. And foremost among these, according to the representation of the English journals, the great middle classes of Europe were most constant and interested in their attendance upon the American department.

In the Exposition of 1863, at Hamburg, the Government was not represented, but some of our enterprising citizens were there; among others, an enterprising farmer from the State of Vermont, on his own account, without the slightest expectation of achieving distinction for himself or his country. He took with him, to represent one of the great staple interests of this country, twelve sheep. I do not suppose there is a man in this House, or that there was at that time a man in the United States, who believed for a single moment that the American States were equal in sheep culture to those nations where it has been pursued with zealous and prudent care for many hundred years. In the Exposition at Hamburg, thirty-five different nations were represented. The crowned heads of Europe had their own finest specimens of the sheep of Europe and Asia; the Emperor of the French was represented among others by his own choice specimens of stock. And this Vermont sheep raiser, Mr. Campbell—I ought to mention his name—who carried out at his own cost twelve sheep, was honored not only by a comparison of his animals with those of other States, but he received two first prizes, and a second prize, for the superiority of his stock. The award was not made by

friends of this Government, not by men interested in our people, but by strangers; and when it was announced that an American had received two first prizes for the superiority of his stock, and the second prize also, it was rejected as fabulous, and being verified by the subsequent publication of the awards the integrity of the judges was disputed; but Mr. Campbell challenged a second examination, which was not accepted, and the award was further vindicated by the sale of his sheep to the first breeders in Europe for \$5,000.

I need not go further in the discussion of this matter, to show what we have done in the past. Let me say a word as to what we may do in future.

Mr. CHAIRMAN, of the ten groups into which the imperial commission has classified the industry of the world, the United States, if it shall be properly represented, will be at least the equal if not the superior of other nations in six or seven. I need hardly recount them. In works of art, although we have a reputation not yet in blossom, I am sure we shall stand in some respects the equals of modern representatives of older nations. The illustrations of the grand features of American scenery by Church, Bierstadt, Lutze and others; the marbles of Powers, Story, and Hosmer, and other sculptors yet unknown, and who will never be known except they shall have opportunity to compare their achievements with the art triumphs of other countries, cannot fail to attract at least respectful attention.

In wood engraving, the great democratic exemplification of the art most important of all to literature, and for that instruction of the people, the United States not only stands equal to the best, but it has achieved distinction by photographic applications and other processes hitherto unknown to artists of the same profession in other parts of the world, which will hereafter be to the art of design what photography has been to painting. The day is not distant when neither journals nor books will be published in this country without pictorial illustration.

The inexpensive and almost instantaneous process of making casts from life lately introduced, will make the study of sculpture, that branch of art most attractive to Americans, as common as crayon sketching and photography. The cultivation of the art of design is destined to give to our manufactures and commerce an advantage which has been hitherto monopolised by older nations, and open to our people, women as well as men, elevated and limitless occupation. In the manufacture of silver ware, jewelry, porcelains and other articles of luxury, in which elegance of design and skillful handiwork constitute the chief value, our products already maintain exclusive possession of our own markets.

In materials and applications for the liberal arts, we have no jus

still less exact knowledge of our capacity. We can only know by comparison with other nations what this continent will produce in the way of the materials applicable to the liberal arts, but we need not be surprised if in this feature of the first group we stand as well as other nations.

In the fifth group, which embraces minerals and the raw and wrought products of mining, certainly we may assume that no part of the world is equal to the United States. The mines of Russia do not compare with our metalliferous deposits. The mineral regions of Russia are chiefly on the eastern slope of the Ural mountains, from three to five thousand miles from St. Petersburg, whose waters run mainly from the centers of population to the Arctic sea, the expense of transportation consuming the greater part of the value of the products. Our exhaustless wealth lies on the lines of settlement, where population is moving, where railroads are constructed, and towns, cities, and States are rising, and commerce flows in living and perpetual streams, so that we may say that our mineral wealth in respect to the seaports of the Atlantic or the Pacific coast, in view of the great lines of rail and water transportation, are the same to us, or will be, as if it were at the threshold of the Mint of Philadelphia and San Francisco, or the marts of New York and Boston.

The capacity of our people in mechanism and invention requires no endorsement, and in other branches of manufacturing industry we shall maintain at least a respectable position. In respect to mechanical development it is impossible for us to estimate justly our own position without comparison with other nations. But our progress will far surpass our own expectations. The most successful exhibition of American industry ever given by the Massachusetts Charitable Mechanic Association was that of last year when, on account of the press of applications for space, machines were excluded except those which had been invented within the last five years.

The chief feature in our progress is the achievement of numerous and surprising results by the aid of machinery, which in other lands are accomplished by the slow and costly process of manual labor. The adaptation of machinery to the manufacture of watches, where the roughly swedged materials are in a single day, under one roof, at a small cost, by the labor of girls and men, turned out in the form of time-keepers, equal in style, workmanship and integrity of time, to the best articles of European manufacture; the substitution of mechanical for manual labor in the cultivation of the soil; the construction of philosophical instruments, and in the manufacture of arms and ordnance, and in naval architecture, and the general adaptation of mechanical powers to the purposes of Christian civilization, are among the wonders of the

world. If other nation surpass us, their instruction will richly repay us for any contributions we make to the general stock of industrial ideas.

Let a square yard of the prairie soil of the northwest, and the rich alluvial of the Mississippi valley, be transported in glass, covered by the natural grass which furnishes food for the autumnal prairie fires, showing its depth, accompanied by the products to which it gives life; the charts which illustrate its location; the tables which show its extent; the prices at which it is held; the cereals which it is capable of producing; its proximity to the markets of the world, and the probable increase of the population it is destined to support within the present generation; and the landless millions of European middle life will gain new hopes, and give to American civilization renewed strength and nobler aspirations.

We have passed through a war of great trials and great success. It has challenged the attention of the world. There will be nothing which the people of other countries will more desire to comprehend than the *materiel* and organization of the American Army. The Quartermaster's Department sends an army wagon, manufactured at Philadelphia, that followed McClellan through his Potomac campaign, Rosecrans in Tennessee, Sherman in his great march from the mountains to the sea, and by the coast to Richmond, where it awaited the surrender of Lee. A pair of worn-out shoes, the dress of an American soldier, his shelter tent, his bayonet, his musket, his knapsack, his cap, his rations, anything that belonged to him, will attract more attention, draw greater crowds of people, and hold them longer and closer, than the crown jewels of England, or the Kohinoor of India.

We want to see, also, the Navy of our country represented, that Navy which ought to be willing to assist us in the slight demand we make upon it. We want the people of Europe to see our iron-clads and monitors, as novel and as triumphant in naval architecture as was the yacht *America*, of 1851. We want them to see our twenty-inch guns and the thousand-pound projectiles we fabricate. The naval authorities of our country, I am told, would not hesitate to challenge the navies of the whole world to open their batteries upon one of our unresisting and silent monitors, sleeping in the waters of Cherbourg like a turtle, if they will allow her to return the fire of each with a single shot. We want the people of the old world to see what our mechanics have done and can do; that we have not been exhausted by war, crippled by heavy expenditures, destroyed by large armies, or disturbed by the most gigantic rebellion of any age; and we desire to show them that we prefer peace to war; that we are still equal to either, and may be good

friends or dangerous enemies, [applause;] that we prefer peace; that the triumphs of peaceful industry are our pride, but that if war be made on us by their rulers, they must not count upon an unresisting foe, but on one that will carry havoc and devastation into their country, as it has been carried into the country of our enemies. [Applause.] We want to see in command of an American frigate in European waters, the artless and heroic naval commander, the Homeric leader, a character cast in Plutarch's mould—Admiral Farragut, whose naval exploits equal those of Duguay Trouin of France, Van Tromp of Holland, or Nelson of England. And that he may not stand alone, we want our gallant soldiers to be represented by their leaders, Grant, Sherman, and Sheridan, that we may show the world, with the triumphs of our industry, of what stuff the American Army and Navy are made.

In the way of peace and for the purpose of averting war, there can be no act of the American Government more important than this. I can scarcely doubt that the Emperor of France desires war with this country. One who sits upon a bayonet has a sharp seat, and cannot remain quiet long. But Napoleon and other rulers of Europe must reconcile public opinion to their policy, whatever it may be, and satisfy the people of their respective Governments that they have an easy task and a certain end. While he has the power to represent America and France as he chooses, the people have no medium of information but his representations. But in this industrial theatre of nations, the voice of rulers will be no more potential than that of the people. The thin, delusive veil of diplomacy which has been hanging between Governments and the people for centuries, and which is responsible for most of the injustice the nations have suffered through long ages of oppression, will be lifted, and the people will understand each other.

God, in this the greatest of His providences, now gives to the democracy of America an opportunity to speak face to face with the democracy of Europe. The products of industry constitute the language of labor. It is an universal tongue. Every man comprehends and speaks it. And when they shall have seen for themselves the results of our war and our capacity in peace, they will advise the rulers of Europe that the people of America are to be courted as friends rather than pursued as enemies. Thus, as an affair of peace or war, in preserving our relations with the Governments of other nations upon a proper basis, and in the means of defending our rights, a just representation of our resources is the best possible appeal we can make.

But it is not in this view alone that such representation is important. This great industrial congress will constitute an

era in the history of labor, as it will in the civilization of the world.

Let me recall a few of the leading features of our position and power, scarcely known to us, and never contemplated by the people of other countries.

Our cereal products double in quantity every ten years. They are now larger than the grain crops of France, equal to those of England, and, in ten years, will exceed the crops of both empires. Lamartine, in his letter justifying the French occupation of Mexico, says distinctly that the North American Continent is to become the granary of the world, and that France must control a portion of its territory or be subordinate to the Government and people of the United States.

The cotton crop gives employment to forty million Europeans. It has been cultivated in eight States, mainly in but five. Its largest product has been five million bales a year. It can be successfully and profitably cultivated in twenty States, certainly in half of the States of the Union, and instead of being limited to five million, we will soon send to the markets of the world twenty million bales each year.

The grape is an indigenous product of this country. In the northern Mexican States, on the Pacific coast, in the valley of the Mississippi, on the Ohio, and in other sections, there is evidence, abundant and irresistible, that we shall soon share, at least, with the rest of the world in the control of its wine markets. We already export wines, with other agricultural products, from the Pacific coast to South America, Australia, the Sandwich Islands, Japan, and the Asiatic nations.

The mineral wealth of this country is fabulous. No man would be credited for a moment in the industrial council of nations, next year, if he stated upon his own responsibility what is the possible, even the probable, development of the mineral wealth of this country. It is only when the Government makes its exposition that the people of the old world will credit the relation. Our metalliferous regions embrace seventeen parallels of latitude, and nearly an equal measure of longitude, covering two million square miles, the whole of which is plethoric with iron, lead, copper, asphaltum, silver, quicksilver, gold, and other known and unknown mineral substances.

California has already given us \$460,000,000 in gold. The same energy applied to other mineral regions of the Pacific coast will return an annual product of \$400,000,000 in gold, and \$200,000,000 in other useful and precious metals. Six hundred million dollars a year! In the centre of the continent, between our most populous States, on the threshold of our commercial cities, at the doors of the mints of Philadelphia

and San Francisco, lies this deposit! Its value is inappreciable, its presence is unquestionable, its proximity undeniable, and its realization demands but the completion of the lines of transportation now in process of construction! What in the world is equal to it? What are the mines of Spain, of India, and Australia? Russia alone offers material for comparison; Russia, whose metallic wealth lies mainly upon the eastern slope of the Ural Mountains, from three to five thousand miles from the centres of commerce and population; cut off from the artificial and natural lines of communication, and offering no available natural outlet except the waters that flow from the mountains northward into the Arctic Sea.

Several years since Baron Von Humboldt expressed to Mr. Sanford, our Minister to Belgium, the confident belief that the mountains of Virginia would be found to be a rich deposit of diamonds. And in confirmation of this suggestion of one who could read the surface of the earth as an expert in natural science recognizes a fish by its bones or its scales—as if in exemplification of the philosophic theory of Humboldt, we see it announced, in the southern portion of the continent, that diamonds and other precious stones have already been discovered.

We know comparatively nothing of the mineral character, resources, or wealth of the metalliferous regions of our country. It is only when we shall stand in the council of scientific men, representing all parts of the world, and thoroughly conversant with its wondrous developments, our own resources fully and justly represented, that we shall be able to estimate their value.

I need not speak of the petroleum discoveries in the view or with the spirit of speculation. I have no eye for speculation. I never saw in my life a share of stock or scrip of any sort, and have no care for such things. I do not doubt that, so far as petroleum is the subject of speculation, it will be, as all speculation is, a public injury. But we must respect the developments of nature, in whatever shape they present themselves. Here in the rich bosom of our most populous States, we discover that Providence has given to us wealth in a form indispensable to all nations and all pursuits, in almost exhaustless quantities. It would seem as if precious oils flowed in the veins of the earth as does its water; that when it is exhausted in one place it appears in another, and when exhausted in the second fountain it reappears in the first. With any ordinary and reasonable drain upon this most bounteous and marvellous development, we may well say that it is exhaustless. It extends from the Alleghanies to the Pacific coast, and may be found anywhere within an area of two million square miles; and no man can fix his stake at any

point where it is not possible to penetrate the earth and receive wealth in this form, in addition to the other perhaps more reliable and beneficent products of the soil.

Let us look at another subject in which we have or ought to have some interest. It is the American railway system. The railway is a new element of civilization and power. We have thirty-one thousand miles of railroad—four times as much as England—more than any other country. We can build as much as we want, and as soon as we please. Other nations count the cost, but we have no cost, for to invest in a railway is to give value to property existing in other forms. The construction of our railways has cost us \$1,100,000,000. Eight hundred millions, as I stated the other day, were expended between 1850 and 1860; and I have no doubt that between 1870 and 1880, \$1,000,000,000 more will be invested, so that we shall have a railway to every part of this country, connecting all the points of domestic wealth with the commerce of the world, whether it be the coal of Pennsylvania, the lead of Illinois, the copper of Michigan, or the gold and silver of the Pacific coast.

[Here the hammer fell.]

Mr. ASHLEY, of Ohio. I move that, by unanimous consent, the gentleman from Massachusetts be allowed to conclude his remarks.

There was no objection.

Mr. BANKS. Again, sir, consider the question in another aspect, which is rather moral than financial or industrial. Mr. Oliphant, of the British Parliament, said in a public speech, the other day, that in religious and secular education, the United States are ahead of the whole world. It is well known that we appropriate more money in public education than all other nations. In the exposition of 1867, education will be a material feature. It would be a crime if the nations of the earth are to report progress in popular education, and the Government of the United States should not, in this respect, at least be properly represented. And the same is true of the public press of the country, another form of public education in which adults rather than children, receive instruction. In its present democratic form, it is essentially an American institution. In 1860, of four thousand journals, according to the census returns, a thousand million copies were published and sold, making one weekly copy for every soul in the country, and the annual publication is now probably more than double the number.

The area and population of every country limit its productive power. The population is its only active agent in the development of its resources, and its territorial area limits the growth and strength of its population. In these respects, we cannot

well hesitate to enter the arena of comparison. Our territorial area is nearly three million square miles. It is equal to the area of Europe. More than nine hundred million acres have been sold to actual settlers, and a thousand million acres yet remain in the hands of the Government. Less than twenty per cent. of the land is now cultivated, the average value of which is but fourteen dollars per acre, while that still unsold costs but a dollar and a quarter. It is a grand theatre, certainly, for the developement of population. It will support a thousand million people. Populated as England now is, 330 to a square mile, the valley of the Mississippi alone will maintain nearly that number. It will grow every product of the eastern or western hemisphere, tea, coffee, and sugar in the southwest, grain in the northwest, and become the depot of the luxuries and necessities of life.

The second element of national strength keeps pace with the extension of territory. France has grown in population, they say, thirty-seven per cent in sixty years. Prussia has increased a hundred and fifteen per cent., and England one hundred and thirty-seven per cent in the same time, while the growth of our population has been five hundred and ninety-three per cent. on our numbers in 1800. We double every thirty years. In 1876, a century from the declaration of independence, with a government by all for all, the fundamental condition of which is universal freedom, we shall number fifty millions. At the close of this century, we shall have a population of a hundred millions, and in 1950, two hundred and fifty millions, nearly equal to that of Europe at this time.

The evidences of wealth harmonize with the elements of popular power.

The property valuation of the country has doubled every fifteen years, since the beginning of the century. It was then one thousand million dollars. It is now sixteen thousand millions. It more than doubled from 1850 to 1860, and in 1870 will exceed thirty thousand million dollars, greater than the valuation of England which doubles only in thirty years.

Now, sir, in the grand congress of nations, such facts will make an impression upon the world in two respects in which we have much interest: first, in regard to our finances, and second, in regard to our population. Capital is proverbially heartless, and will go wherever it finds material for safe and profitable investment. European nations are insecure in their political relations. If we settle our domestic affairs, as I have no doubt we shall, ours is secure. We will show in mineral developement, in increased cotton product, in the extension of our cereals, in the increase of population, such an absolute

certainty of the payment of our public and private debts, as to deprive the capitalists of Europe of any, even the slightest apprehension in making investments in our country.

I can say, I think without exaggeration—I know it is a strong statement that I am about to make—and I intend to make it strong, that if the Government of the country should issue its scrip in small sums, paying seven, eight, nine, or ten per cent. interest, with a full and fair representation of the wealth of our resources and the character of our people to the capitalists and middle classes, it would break every savings bank in Europe, if the Government did not stop subscriptions.

We have, as the first interest, then, immigration, and secondly, financial security. Immigration thus far in this country, though a prolific source of strength, has not been altogether what it might have been. The Secretary of State, as the Speaker of the House knows, sent to us a communication the other day, showing that criminals were liberated from imprisonment in the old world on condition that they should come to the United States. It is a well-known fact that early immigration was of a character which would not be said, at the first blush, to be desirable, but in the providence of God it has been of the first advantage. We have never yet touched largely the middle classes of Europe. The German States alone, with a population of about sixty million, and an annual increase of six hundred thousand souls, can send us a half million people every year, mainly from the middle classes; men to occupy our land, men who are skilled in all industrial pursuits, in wine culture, in the mechanical arts, in the mysteries of mining. Skilled labor is the want of our country, and will furnish, if it can be obtained, an inappreciable increase of industrial power and product. We paid the revolutionary debt in forty-five years. We can pay the present debt in less time. Whether it be three or five or even ten thousand millions with such possible increase of productive power our debt will be paid, every dollar of it, at the day it is due. In the hands of such people as ours, that which appears now to be material wealth, will be as dross. They will penetrate the earth for its hidden treasures, coin the atmosphere if need be, and turn to profitable investment many now rejected and valueless sources of future wealth.

Mr. Chairman, facts like these stated to the people of Europe open the door for the emigration of the middle classes, who can neither buy land nor enter the closed ranks of privileged classes, that exhaust the resources, and monopolize the wealth and honors of the country.

In this view, a shoe or a plough from America is not merely evidence of mechanical skill; it is the representative of a country that brings the world within the circle of its influ-

ence, where the grandest acquisitions in material wealth, mental attainment, and political power are open to the humblest citizen of the land.

With such accessions to our numbers we shall be able to discharge our duty to our Government, relieve our people from their taxes, and make known to the world the value of the services of the illustrious men who have died in the defence of the country. It is in such a contest as this that men and nations win honors that give them immortality. War is but a trivial thing compared with the developments of peace, and if showing what we have done in war, we forbear to show to the world of what we are capable in peace, we shall reap dishonor rather than enduring fame.

The position of America is marvelous. When we group facts common to us all, they seem incredible. But the other day the Emperor of France, said to the Corps Legislative, to recommend his Government to his people, that the constitution of France was not unlike that of the United States.

In the university at Cambridge a professorship has been proposed for instruction in the principles and history of the American Government. An American merchant, Mr. Peabody, has expended from his own fortune, a million and a quarter of dollars in the construction of tenement houses for the poor in London; an illustrious example that has been nobly imitated by the Empress of France in Paris. It is a duty we owe to other nations, as well as to ourselves, to show them what we are. Why, sir, there are many men among the educated classes of England and France who do not know that we speak the English language.

In the elementary text-books, the United States occupy an insignificant position, such as we accord to the distant and comparatively unimportant parts of the South American continent. It is only when our people are able to speak for themselves, that the Governments of Europe will understand what we are, and their people be able to comprehend our institutions and acknowledge our rights. In this manner we may avert hostility and secure the enduring friendship of all nations.

"Such peace is in the nature of a conquest,
For then both parties nobly are subdued,
And neither party loser."

I am sorry, Mr. Chairman, that I have trespassed so long upon your attention. But for the very earnest opposition of the gentleman from Illinois, [Mr. WASHBURN,] to this simple resolution, reported by the Committee on Foreign Affairs, I should not have ventured upon these remarks. It was not my intention when I rose to trespass long, and I conclude with a single suggestion: that whatever success we may have in the



field or the workshop, the strength of our civilization is more in ideas than in force. The lesson the old world has to learn of us, and which we ought better to comprehend ourselves, is, that in the wise economy of nations, ideas are better than blows, and brains better than blood.

The resolutions passed, after debate on the 14th and 15th March. Yeas, 69; nays, 50; majority, 19.

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